423 613 671 [428] /77 cont./ Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process from clearings. Once this harvest is made, [425] the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/78 cont./

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Clearings Studied in January, 1957

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
101 O Téodora (G40)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of her mother.
102 O Kukusa (F40)	1953	right created by Kukusa by clearing off an old secondary forest without a known user.
103 O Paana (G2)	1955	clearing cleared off by O Wima (E3); transmitted during her lifetime to her daughter O Tini (F1), then to O Pamasa (E26), raised by Tini. Pamasa worked it once, then gave her right to O Paana, daughter of Tiya /Tina?/.
104 O Tini (F1)	1954	right created by Tini (F1), who cleared it off for the first time (about 1920?); she has cut it three times in all; keeps her right of use.
105 O Lènga (F37) /F36?/	1954	cleared off by O Lènga for the first time (about 1920?). She has cut it 3 times in all; keeps her right of use.

/78 cont./

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Clearings Studied in January, 1957 (cont.)

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
106 ○ /△ ?/ Féni (G3)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of △ Agoabuchi, old man of the Dju lineage (position on the genealogical table uncertain). /79/
107 ○ Tini (F1)	1955	it was △ Loka (D13) † 1951, who cleared off this land a long time ago. During his lifetime he ceded his right to ○ Tini, who cut it 2 times in all.
108 ○ Tini (F1)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of ○ Asoso (E7) † 1953, ancestress who had farmed there for a long time.
109 ○ Félicia (G41)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of ○ Anna † (E22), her grandmother.
110 ○ Téodora (G20)	1956	occupied this land upon the death of her mother Dondo † 1954, who had herself occupied it upon the death of her mother Anna (E22).

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/79 cont./

Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

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Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

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Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

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For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

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The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use. /80/